

STATEMENT OF
WALTER PFORZHEIMER
Before the
Senate Select Committee
on Intelligence

on Senate Resolution
To support the establishment of
a National Historical Intelligence Museum

3 November 1983

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am grateful to this Committee for the privilege of testifying before you this morning. Especially, I deeply appreciate your taking time from busy days and having the thoughtfulness to introduce Senate Resolution _____ in support of the establishment of a National Historical Intelligence Museum. Such a Museum represents a concept which I endorse in principal; in this I am joined by my colleagues in the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), on whose Board of Directors and Executive Committee I have the privilege of sitting.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that you and your colleagues have been made aware of the fact that I have been a rare book collector most of my life and began to collect books in English on intelligence service when I first joined the Central Intelligence Group in 1946. That collection - destined for Yale University - has now grown to almost 5,000 volumes. It includes some rare and interesting manuscript material going back to the mid-fifteen hundreds; I have brought a very few items from my collection with me to show you this morning as examples of what might be included in an Historical Intelligence Museum.

As an example, even formal intelligence legislation is not all that new in this country. I hold in my hand House Bill No. 240: To provide for the establishment of a Bureau of Special and Secret Service. This bill is marked Secret Session and was introduced into the House of Representatives of the Confederate States on November 30, 1864.

Before getting into some specific thoughts that I have on the subject of a Museum, I would like to urge one slight amendment in paragraph (2) of the Senate Resolution now before you, which might better read "That intelligence activities were employed by George Washington and the Founding Fathers at the outset and throughout the American Revolution;". To me the American

Revolution was a dandy intelligence war. To be sure, intelligence did not have the detailed structured organization with which we are familiar today; technology was very limited; but the basic principles of intelligence, rudimentary though they were, only serve to illustrate that modern practices are but an extension, in a broad sense, of those with which our forefathers began. But I must give it as my personal opinion that George Washington was the greatest intelligence officer in the history of the United States prior to the advent of William J. Donovan at the head of OSS in World War II. In the field of espionage, Washington often selected the agents, was vitally interested in their reports, helped to develop ruses for them to escape if caught, and, of course, even made some mistakes. The ill-fated mission to New York for which Nathan Hale volunteered in 1776, without proper cover and with no training, is one unfortunate example. This small statue of Nathan Hale that I place before you is a replica of the statue by Frederick Macmonnies in New York's City Hall Park, a reminder of Hale's heroism on what he called "a peculiar service", and of his untimely death on the gallows.

There are, in the Houghton Library at Harvard, three sheets of notes in Washington's hand which can only be extracts he made personally from agent's reports so that he could brief his staff properly - an example of his use of intelligence. Washington was also a master of psychological warfare. He would have the same rumor planted along the East Coast from Charleston to New York so that the British, finding the report repeated, would swallow it hook, line and sinker. As one author has said, the man who could not tell a lie about chopping down a cherry tree could surely tell some whoppers in the service of his country. Washington's use of deception before the Battle of Yorktown is a classic.

Above all, George Washington had a feeling for intelligence that was unexcelled. To illustrate that point, I wish to quote a paragraph from a letter General Washington wrote from near Morris Town, New Jersey, on July 26, 1777, to Colonel (later Brigadier General) Elias Dayton, his Intelligence Chief in New Jersey. To

me this is perhaps the finest single paragraph on our profession that has ever been written, and I lay his original letter before you. The last paragraph reads:

"The necessity of procuring good Intelligence is apparent & need not be further urged -- All that remains for me to add is, that you keep the whole matter as secret as possible. For upon Secrecy, Success depends in most Enterprizes of the kind, and for want of it, they are generally defeated, however well planned & promising a favourable issue."

Time does not permit for me to expand on the work of intelligence of the Founding Fathers, but their names are a roster of our early history, including Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, the Adamses, Samuel and John, Silas Deane, Robert Morris, to name but a few. I do not have to remind this Committee that in those days of the American Revolution there was no executive branch of government. What government there was was managed by the Continental Congress. In September 1775, the Continental Congress established The Secret Committee which, in effect, handled what we now call special activities, particularly in the field of covert procurement. Two months later they set up the Committee of Secret Correspondence which handled secret agents. The Continental Congress at every turn maintained the secrecy of their sources and methods, an example your Committee follows superbly.

One book I have brought today in order that we may pay appropriate homage to a little known and unsung hero of the American Revolution whose name was James Aitkin, widely known as John the Painter. A Scotsman who migrated to America, John the Painter returned to England in December 1776 and proceeded to the Royal Dock Yard at Portsmouth where he set fire to the Rope House. His fire destroyed part of the building and some 20 tons of hemp, 10 cables of rope each of a hundred fathoms in length, and 6 tons of cordage. The destruction of this hemp and rope in those days of sail was a serious blow to the Royal Navy. What we must emphasize here is that John the Painter was the only American to commit an act of sabotage in England during the

American Revolution. Regrettably, he was caught, tried and hanged in March 1777. The rare book before you is a shorthand transcript of his trial.

I would like to suggest that the cornerstone volume of books on intelligence in America starts with the Proceedings of a Board of General Officers . . . Respecting Major André held on September 29, 1780. As we recall, this book relates to the terrible treason of General Benedict Arnold at West Point. Major André was his British case officer in New York. André went up river to talk with Arnold, his defector-in-place, because Arnold, although perhaps our best combat general, was a difficult man to deal with; one could almost call him a psychiatric nut. Washington convened this Board, after André's capture, to advise him what to do in this case. It included such luminaries as General Lafayette and Baron Steuben. Before reaching his decision, General Washington received a letter from the British commander in New York, General Clinton, offering an exchange of prisoners for André. Washington said: Sure. You give me back Arnold and I'll give you back André. Much as the British wished the return of the popular André, General Clinton realized that to give up a defector would mean that he would never get another one, and so the deal fell through. Such a decision is as valid today as it was then. Major André was hanged as a spy on 2 October 1780, and General Washington bundled up the papers of the Board of General Officers and the correspondence he had, not only with General Clinton but a villifying letter from General Arnold, and sent them to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Within what remained of the year 1780, the Continental Congress ordered the Proceedings to be printed in a pamphlet which I lay before you, indicating again as I said above, that this is the cornerstone book on collecting American intelligence literature. So popular was this pamphlet that it was reprinted in six different cities in America before the year 1780 was out. No library has them all. One edition exists in only two known copies. Even the British saw fit to reprint the text of this pamphlet, without its appendices, in their newspapers, adding one word throughout. It

is now the Proceedings of a Board of Rebel General Officers. A copy of The London Chronicle of November 30-December 2, 1780, is exhibited here.

Of this period, I wish to add only one other document from March 1795. It is an authorization for rations for 4 spies for 4 days in March 1795. It is signed by the Aid-de-Camp [sic] to General "Mad Anthony" Wayne at Greenville, Ohio, where General Wayne was beating the Indians and concluding the Treaty of Greenville. The Lieutenant who signed this authorization as Aid-de-Camp was William Henry Harrison, later President of the United States.

I would like to turn, Mr. Chairman, to the concept of an intelligence museum, for there remain a good many questions to be answered. The first answer lies in paragraphs (3), (4) and (5) of your Senate Resolution; namely, that it is important for our fellow citizens to understand the role of intelligence both in war and in peace; that the sacrifices and contributions to intelligence service of thousands of men and women should be commemorated, and that our fellow citizens should recognize the importance which intelligence has played in our history, an importance which I have tried to stress in the few exhibits before you. While, over the years, there have been literally thousands involved in this profession, they are sufficiently few in relation to our total population to remind us of Shakespeare's words from King Henry V before Agincourt when the King spoke of "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;" and, Mr. Chairman, I hasten to add, sisters. Occasionally, there have been some small, local attempts to develop an intelligence museum. Within military premises, such as the Army Intelligence School at Fort Huachuca, we find that the retirement of a curator often means the end of the effort; and that, in any event, those things tend to rise and fall with the interest of the commanding officer. NSA is building up historical exhibits of cryptology, but few of the general public sees them. I recall when the CIA Headquarters was nearing completion at Langley, the Deputy Director, General Cabell, asked if we would not provide space at least for a permanent internal

museum for our employees. The answer was negative, for we could not even find a broom closet, because space was so tight. After CIA put up its wonderful exhibit at Headquarters to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis - an exhibition which included blown up boards of some of the key photography, an original U-2 camera and some documents, at the end of the exhibit we tried to offer it, intact, to a major museum in Washington. The offer was refused, although the suggestion was made that it might go to the Kennedy Library at Harvard. There it rests today, waiting to be brought down to an exhibition at the Smithsonian in 1987 commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Therefore, one of the major reasons for an Intelligence Museum is that much of the material is now scattered throughout the country, and most of it, I fear, is permanently lost. To bring such material together in one place so that the public can view it, at least in rotating exhibitions, is crucial, and the time is rapidly passing us by.

The next question is, Where? My personal view is that it should be in the Nation's Capital where there is much material that can be borrowed for temporary exhibitions. Obviously, it cannot be located in an Intelligence Community facility where public access is nil. The question then arises: Should it have a separate building of its own or can one make use of a wing of the Smithsonian Museum of History? A third floor wing is presently being refurbished there. I would find having it in the hands of the Smithsonian and having it located on one floor of an exhibition wing, for rotating exhibitions, would be an ideal solution. The Smithsonian can keep the material, drawing on its stores and loans for display. Think of the impact of such rotating exhibitions, not only on the grownups who are drawn to tales of intelligence and spies, but also on the kids who are so fond of gadgetry and the kind of exhibits that could be mounted.

One comes to the question of, Who pays? To build a building would require more funds than probably the William J. Donovan Foundation and other private sources could raise, although their support is essential. I do not believe that there is

enough money available for such a project by private subscription to raise the millions required not only to build a building but also to fund a curator and staff, and above all, to protect this material with the required security. An existing facility here appears to me to be the answer. A pool of volunteers might be drawn from AFIO and the Veterans of Strategic Services, and CIRA to serve as docents.

Finally, What goes into this Museum? Does it need a large library? A proper intelligence library in all languages and on all aspects of the profession could easily reach 25,000 volumes. The Museum does not seem to be the place for such a library, for there are other library resources in Washington. Does it want a few rare books such as I have laid before you? Perhaps. Does it require a permanent collection of the kinds of rare documents that I have exhibited here? Possibly - probably. The artifacts, the cameras, the agent radios, photography boards when declassified - all of these should go into a museum, stored for use for the appropriate exhibit. But in the end I think the strain of a separate building is too much to ask for either through private subscription or government funds. I do believe, however, that the government can afford to make one floor of a Smithsonian History Museum wing available for this purpose if the Congress so desires. That is the route I would take. All I can add is that it be done as soon as possible before these valuable materials and artifacts disappear further, either totally or in part.

As I commenced so do I end, that the thoughtfulness of this Committee in discussing this matter is much to be appreciated. I have brought with me and will lay before you for those who wish to see them, some additional material, including Mata Hari's last passport application to go into France, and what I consider to be the first book on intelligence service published in English, Matthew Smith's Memoirs of Secret Service, London, 1699. Finally, I have included some postage stamps for those who are stamp collectors. These stamps are forgeries by the British and Americans for intelligence purposes in World Wars I and II. Thank you for the opportunity of presenting my views on this legislation.

LIST OF EXHIBITS TO ACCOMPANY THE TESTIMONY OF WALTER PFORZHEIMER

1. Letter from George Washington on intelligence, addressed to Col. Elias Dayton, July 26, 1777.
2. Replica of the Macmonnies statue of Nathan Hale.
3. The Trial of John the Painter, the only American to commit an act of sabotage in England during the American Revolution. 1777.
4. Proceedings of a Board of General Officers . . . Respecting Major John André. Philadelphia 1780.
5. Proceedings of a Board of Rebel General Officers . . . respecting Major John Andre in The London Chronicle, November 30 - December 2, 1780.
6. Authorization for provisions for four spies, signed by Lt. William Henry Harrison, Greenville, Ohio, March 1795.
7. My Imprisonment by Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate agent in the Civil War.
8. Letter from Rose O'Neal Greenhow to President Jefferson Davis, August 19th, 1863. Concerning her mission to England.
9. House Bill No. 240 [Confederate House of Representatives] To provide for the establishment of a Bureau of Special & Secret Service, November 30, 1864.
10. Authorization for expenditure of up to £20,000 for secret services, signed by Queen Anne of England, 6 December 1705.
11. Memoirs of Secret Service by Matthew Smith. London, 1699. Inscribed by the author to "the Lord High Chansellour" of England.
12. Last passport application, 1916, of Margaretha Geertruida Zelle McLeod - Mata Hari - to enter France. There she was arrested as a spy and executed in 1917.
13. Photograph of Mata Hari. Berlin, 1907.
14. J'Accuse. The first book used by the French to drop from airplanes behind German lines for propaganda purposes in World War I.
15. World Wars I and II postage stamps forged for intelligence purposes.
16. World War II escape and evasion gadgetry.
17. Maanen er gaaet ned [The Moon Is Down], by John Steinbeck, and Een Verden [One World], by Wendell Willkie. Printed during World War II by Danish clandestine press for distribution by the Danish Resistance.